THE ARTS OF GRANDEUR AND SUBMISSION.

OR

A Discourse concerning the Behaviour of Great Men towards their Inferiours: *and* of Inferiour Personages towards Men of greater quality.

Written in Latin *by* Joannes Casa *Arch-Bishop of* Benevento, *Author of the famed* Galateus concerning Manners: *and rendred into* English

By *Henry Stubbe* Oxon.

Quintilian. Instit. Orat. l. 1. *c.* 1.
Operum fastigia spectantur, latent fundamenta.

LONDON,
printed by *A. M.* for *William Lee*, and are to be sold at the Sign of the Turks-Head in Fleet-street over against Fetter-Lane.
First Printed in *English May* Day 1663.

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BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

To my very worthy Friend

Sr *Charles Lyttelton*, Knight, late Deputy-Governour of *Jamaica*, one of the *Cupbearers* to His *Sacred MAJESTY*, and *Major* in the Sea-Regiment to his *Royall Highnesse*.

Sir,

ALthough this *Treatise* may seem *impertinent* to a Personage of *your* Endowments and Worth; yet I could not but *Dedicate* to the *preserver of my life* the first *Essay of my recovery*; and let you see that however I may be *unfortunate*, *necessitous*, or *weak*, yet I cannot cease to be *acknowledging*. When I was in *Jamaica*, I had the honour of *your favour*, and I participated together with others the *happynesse* of that *Government*, which needed not the *caprichies* or *follyes* of any insolent and unworthy *successour*, to endeare it to the Inhabitants. When I was sick, you

you made me a part of *your care*: and when *my own reflections*, added to the *violence of my disease*, had inclined me to *Dye*, you *commanded me to live*: and that I yet retaine so much breath as to make this *profession*, it is out of *obedience to your Authority*, as well as an *effect of your Tenderness*. But I am not onely to render you thanks for that *being* I derive from your *Goodnesse*: Morall Philosophy teacheth me, and that more *solemnly*, to acknowledge the *Author of my well-being*: and it is with all the *base*, as well as *submission* imaginable, that I testify my obligations to you for fixing me in the *Family* of the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount *Mordaunt*, and establishing *my repose* by the Three *Loyall*, *Noble*, and *generous hands*, which have contributed *so much* to the *universall Tranquillity* of this Kingdom. I have, at length, removed all the *embrages* I ever lay under: I have *vowed* my self to the *Church* of *England*, not only upon the account of it's being *Publiquely imposed*, (which in *things Indifferent*, is no *small* consideration: as I learned from the *Scottish transactions* at *Perth*) but because it is the *least defining*, and consequently the *most comprehensive*, and

fitting

ſitting to be *Nationall*: wherein any *unprejudiced* perſon (not reſolved to miſtake *particular mens actions* or *opinions*, for *Church-Principles* and *truths*) may obſerve *all thoſe circumſtances* to continue in order to the *promotion* of *Sober Piety*, which the *Angels* proclaimed at the *Birth* of the *World's Saviour*; viz. GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST; PEACE ON EARTH; AND GOOD WILL TOWARDS MEN. In fine, it beares the *impreſs* of what is *Ancient*, and *Apoſtolique*, as well as *True*. I alwayes had a *reverence* for thoſe *Primitive Chriſtians*; and it is with a *ſincerity* not *unbecoming* them, that I *thus declare* my ſelf: and I believe you will admit this *deportment* to be the *beſt retribution* I could make *you*; ſince it *juſtifies your eſteem for me*, and *thoſe pretenſions* wherewith I am perfectly

Sir,

your moſt humble and

Parſons-green Apr. 25. 1665. your moſt obliged humble Servant

Henry Stubbe.

An

An Advertisement to the Reader.

READER,

IT was not with an intention to engage thy Judgement, that Muretus recommended this ensueing Piece as the best for it's Stile and management, that had been written since the time of Cicero. Our Author, Joannes Casa, Arch-Bishop of Benevento, preferred this before his Galateus: and having penned that in Italian, he bestowed upon this Treatise his more attentive thoughts, and that language wherein he surpassed Bembus, Sadoletus, Longolius, Manutius, and indeed all others but Him whom he chose to imitate. He took for his example Tully: and designs the worke according to his

his manner where he treats de Officiis. *I shall leave the Discourse to recommend it self; and onely informe you that I have changed the Title my Authour gaue it into what it is, because that however the word* Duty *may in some cases expres the* Latine *word* Officium, *yet it is not* adequate *in* English; *and might be scrupled at by some* Supercilious *Reader. I observed that in this Treatise the* Documents *set downe are more then once called an* Art *and* Artifice; *whereupon I thought it no incongruous Title, to expres* De Officiis inter potentiores & tenuiores amicos Liber, *by* the Arts of Grandeur and Submission, *respecting the sense of the words, and Subject, rather then the genuine signification. Another thing I am to take notice of, is, That I use promiscuously the words* Superiours, Great Men, and Patrons, *as also those of* poor Friends, Servants, Creatures, Vassals *and* Dependances. *In which I have partly followed my* Authour, *and partly* amended *him in the* English; *which you will observe to become more* proper *and* intelligible *as I have* worded *it, then if I had* emphatically *restrained my self to his* Amici, Tenues & potentes amici

mici, &c. If there be no Faults, I have committed none, but what I durst justify to my Authour, *and therefore make but a superfluous* Apology.

Farewell.

THE ARTS OF GRANDEUR AND SUBMISSION, OR,

A Discourse concerning the Behaviour of Great men *towards their* Inferiours: *and of* Inferiour *personages towards Men of* Greater quality.

I Have alwayes thought that our Ancestors were freed from many of those troubles which are to us both continuall and vexatious; in that they did not, as it is now our practice, retain in their Families, and in the number of their domestiques, any but such as were

absolute Slaves, to serve them in the ordering of their Victuals, attending of their Persons, and other private exigences. For whereas Man is *naturally* proud, haughty, and much more quallified to command, than obey; it cannot choose but be a troublesome, and odious affair to be a *Master* over such whose *courage* is yet entire, and their *Spirits* no way *enfeebled*. And therefore I believe the ancients had no difficult or unpleasant task, to command over persons that were already *subdued*, and tamed by captivity, exchange of fortune, and hard usage, or from their infancy inured to Slavery. *We* have to do with men *Sturdy*, *Strong*, and as it were Savage, whom not only *Nature* inspires with an hatred against all *subjection*, but even the *freedom of their condition* empowers to resist their *Masters*. They have *rights* to pretend to, and are *capable of being injured*: which occasions quarels and contests between them and their *Masters*, and sometimes gives them the face of *Justice*. Thus distractions multiply, and we become perpetually embroiled. Nor can it be otherwise; since every man is a partiall judge in his own case, and puts too great a value on his own performances. Thus it falls out, that in auditing of accompts they can never be ballanced duely, whilst more

The inclination of our usuall servants, if compared with Slaves.

more is set down as *disbursed* than hath been *received*. Hence arise those bitter expostulations and complaints; *I have spent my self in your Family; I have rendred you these and these considerable services; you are indebted to me for the atchievment and glory of such and such enterprises.* And on the other side; *I have been your constant Patron and friend; you are obliged to me for your subsistence all this while; I have shewed you these and these particular respects, and rewarded you thus and thus.*

My own inclinations and common humanity made me esteem it no unworthy or unagreeable designe, to prevent, and allay these so usuall and troublesome quarrels. Wherefore having oftentimes entertained my self with those thoughts, I at length happened to set down certain precepts, and as it were *artificiall rules* for the management of that *mutuall relation*, and entercourse which is betwixt *Great*, and *Inferiour persons* which from the resemblance it hath with that of old, is called by the harsh name of *Service*. And this I did, to the end, that if I had not failed of my intention, both the *one* and the *other sort of men* might receive such directions, as if they duly pursued, they might reap all the advantages aimed at in those *mutuall relations*, and

The Authors designe in writing.

avoid the inconveniences which *generally* befall them therein.

Now, seeing that it is our businesse to deliver certain directions for our *conduct* in a particular way of combining, and associating of men together: and seeing there are severall sorts of *communities*, and associations of men, contracted upon sundry, and different grounds: It is necessary that first of all we distinguish and separate from all others that kind of *Society* whereof we intend to treat; to the end, that although there be some universall precepts which equally concerne all, and the explication whereof is too large a theame to be handled at present, yet such rules as especially appertain to this subject, and mainly conduce to those aimes we now propose to our selves, may be distinctly and plainly set down.

Severall sorts of relations and dependances amongst men.

Nothing done by men without some designe or end.

There is *no action* of *man* which is without *designe*; and it is in vain to imagine there is any so *good natured*, as that their *visits* and friendships are without *particular ends*, which though they are not alwayes in our thoughts, yet doe they nevertheless insensibly rule us, and *influence* us in all our enterprises. All Societies, applications, and addresses are made either with an intention to *delight* us, or ad-

vantage our selves in the acquiring of *things necessary*, or of *Power*, or of *Riches*, and such like; or the *improving* our *present acquests*, or else *securing* them unto us: or else wee propose unto our selves the considerations of *Vertue*, *Justice*, and *Gallantry*, and accordingly frame our comportment. Under the first sort (that I may illustrate it by examples) all lascivious actions, and amours, and such as are transcendently called *pleasures*, are compriled. The sense of *common Utility* and profit is very comprehensive, and includes all the motives whereupon all *Estates*, and *Republiques*, all *Corporations*, and *Companyes* are erected. For, men embodie together in Commonweales, Cities and Corporations, to the end that being thus united they may live safe, and protected from forraigne dangers, and domestick inconveniences: those other *Fraternities*, and *Societies* of an inferiour rank to these, are instituted upon hopes of *extraordinary advantage*, and gaines. Under the third sort is contained that *friendship* and *amity* which is managed by *vertuous persons*, not established upon *particular advantages*, but resentments of integrity, praise and decency.

The severall sorts of relations or Societyes, wherein grounded.

Inferiour and ordinary persons when they

The reasons why meane persons apply themselves to great ones: and why great men value them.

apply themselves to the friendship of *Princes*, and *Great men*, and also *Great personages*, and such as are *eminent* for *power*, or *wealth*, when they caresse or admit into their Cabnets and familiarity such as are *obscure*, *inconsiderable*, and of little interest; neither the *one* or *other* intend by those applications *Honesty* or a *good mine*; no, they scarce so much as make that any part of their regards: but they *principally*, or *only* pursue therein either *profit*, or *pleasure*. All which is evident, in that *meane persons* propose not to themselves the service of the *just*, the *good*, the *valiant*, or *best tempered men*, but (if they have opportunity to contrive and choose their relations) they joyne themselves to the *Rich*, to the *Powerfull*, and such as are *favourites of the Court*, and *populers* and having *made their own fortunes*, as if they had never entertained further thoughts, they *retire*, or at least covet to disengage themselves. Neither doe the *Great*, *Rich*, or *ambitious Potentates*, employ, or oblige such as are of a *severe* and *inflexible vertue*, but such as are *diligent*, *industrious*, *subtile*, of a *popular* not *rigid honesty*. A *morose integrity* with them is as odious, as *Bigottery* in *Religion*: it may make the *professors* of it *admired* at best, rather than *employ-*

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ed, or confided in. Wherefore I shall omit all those harangues which relate to True and ideated Friendship, when agreeableness of manners and conversations doth unite vertuous persons together in a firme love, and friendship. These are as remote from our purpose, as are the ends thereof from those pursued in that friendship which we now treat of. Things of so different natures are not regulated by the same precepts: nor can they be reduced under one head, which are so disjoyned in their designes, and management.

There is a further subdivision of humane Societies; for they are contracted either betwixt equalls, as betwixt Brother and Brother; or betwixt persons of a disproportioned rank and esteeme, as betwixt Parents and Children. It is of great importance in the managment conduct of our affairs, to understand the nature of that Society and Friendship wee are engaged in; for howsoever the world may give to all one common name, yet are the motives which establish them, and the obligations to prosecute and continue them, very different: and in the engaging therein, and interruption thereof, there is oftentimes neither that weakness of judgment, nor inconstancy, nor ingratitude, that men of

small discretion, and insight into things, doe imagine.

It is not to be questioned under which branch of the last subdivision the *Friendship* we treat on, is comprised. Every one sees that it relates unto the latter sort. But as evident as it is, that it intervenes only betwixt persons of a *different ranke*, yet do most men either not *regard* that consideration, or not *remember* it throughout the course of their life. It behoves us therefore to fixe and determine what that *generall aime* and scope is, which wee propose to our selves in this society and confederacy, and according to which we ought to forme and *conduct* our *actings*: lest by mistakes and misapplications we *foile* in our projects, and *wrongfully condemn* others, or render *our selves* lyable to *censure*.

The relation betwixt Master and servant, Lord and vassal, is betwixt persons of unequall degree.

It is not in this as in other cases, wherein *Learning*, *Age*, *Nobility*, or *intrinsique worth* and *vertue* is considered: no, these are not the *grand inducements* unto, and Pillars of *this Amity*, but only *Riches*, *Dignity*, and *Power*. And it were to be wished that *all these* should *concur*, to the end that the friendship might be the more *firme*, wherein those ends mankind proposeth to it's selfe in these circum-

Power and Riches make this inequality of degree.

stances, may be all obtained, and no pretense remain for the dissolving, and interruption thereof. But however, it behoves us to consider, *upon what grounds* our *mutuall relation* is *contracted*, and not only *what we design*, but what *they may expect*; and accordingly *ensure* our selves: since, not according to the *greatnesse of our own hopes*, but the *generall answering of all theirs*, this sort of friendship is established, and continued. Let us therefore not indulge our selves in phansies, nor attribute more to the reſueries of speculative men, nor principles framed in *Studies* & *Hermitages* by persons unacquainted with the practice of the world (which alone is the *rule* of *prudent* and *performing* men; and which alone gives actions the repute of being *Honourable* and *Dishonourable* abroad) than to the constant course of humane affaires, in which we may daily observe, that upon any great *alteration of fortune*, the whole *nature* and condition of *this friendship* is *changed*; and it is not more true, that many are reduced to the *same levell* with, and even *below* their *former equals* and inferiours; then it is, that they likewise are *enforced* (notwithstanding any *previous friendship* of the nature afore-mentioned, and without any disparagement to such as *admire* of this *vicissitude*) *to revere*, *court* and *complement* such as before were *their creatures*, and *at their*

devotion.

devotion. In all which accidents there is nothing strange, but the *alteration of fortune*; with which *such extravagances* are usuall, in advancing, equalling and debasing men: and they who understand themselves comply with her disports, and accordingly demeane themselves, *Cases altering, but not them*. Wherefore in all Communities, and Leagues of Friendship, let this be a generall and infallible direction, *That every one be observed by the person engaging therein, throughly to examine the designe and ends upon undertakance, which he and others enter thereon; and let him carefully inquire into his own condition and abilities, and impartially judge how much he doth contribute to the upholding of that amity: and accordingly as he findes himself to be of importance to the other contractors, and subservient to the ends they have in ambitioning his friendship, so farre let him value himself, and expect to be valued.* *A generall rule*

But it is usuall with men to cast up their reckonings otherwise, and they are thereby precipitated into great errours and absurdities. Wherein I would willingly undeceive them, that they might not give themselves and others the troubles they perpetually doe. Wherefore as often as they shall enter upon those debates, they ought to remember, that it is not every thing which

which ought to be *put into the Scales*, but only *Riches* and *Power*. For as much as upon this account only, and none else, is the relation to *rich*, and *powerfull* men sought after, and acquited; and we *subject* our selves to them in this manner, because of their *Riches*, and *Power*. It is but fitting therefore that such as are *sensible* of the calamities that attend *poverty*, who are *weary of being miserable*; (such, the meanesse of whose condition is become *insupportable* to them, and who cannot create themselves a *better fortune* without the *helps of others*, and that power which another must those *impertinences*, and not place *too great a merit* in their extraordinary *wit*, *Nobility* or *Learning*, (which yet I despise not; and) wherein they themselves put *no great confidence*, as to *hope*, or *demand*, that in *regard of them*, they should be equalled or preferred before *those others*. But perhaps they will say, *We are the better men: We exceed them in point of behaviour and vertuous deportment. Our Families are the more ancient, and Noble: In Learning we surpasse them. There is but one advantage they have over us, and that they are obliged for to their Fortune, not deserts; had any thing but that blind Goddesse, and chance (propitious to none but such as must absolutely depend thereon for their felicity) distributed those favours, we had deprived them thereof, or at least disputed them.*

them. It is well for them, that prosperity is not always the attendant of vertue: and that there is some way to felicify those who deserve nothing, and apprehend nothing. I allow all this; nor doe I silence their objections, by telling them they are *partiall to themselves*; that they ought to give *others* leave to judge of *their good qualities*, and examine *their particular defects*: I grant them all they pretend to; and being thus liberall in my concessions, I must yet tell them, that in *this kind* of relation and friendship, all that they insist on is *frivolous*, and not to the purpose. It was none of those considerations that endeared them each to the other: It was *Riches* and *Power*: It is *from hence* that *those* have the *preheminence*: and the *want of them* necessitates the *others* to *submission*. Either these *terms* ought not *at first* to have been *accepted of*, or not to be *controverted afterwards*. There was *formerly* a *Law* amongst the *Æthiopians*, that they should make him King amongst them, who was the *tallest person*. I would faine know if this Law had not extended so farre as to punish any *proud Persian*, or *Philosopher*, that should have ambitioned the *Crown*? Yet is it true that *wisdome* is to be preferred before an *extraordinary Stature*: and it imports more a Nation, that their *Prince* be endued with *knowledge*, than *bulk of Body*: All this is *true*; yet since the

Laws

Laws of the *Æthiopians* have a particular regard to *Tallneſs* of Body; the *Laws* muſt take place; and *Tallneſſe* muſt be perfected. So it is with us: we muſt acquieſce in thoſe conditions which *uſage* and *cuſtome* hath enacted, and which *we our ſelves* (as a part of that multitude which gives Laws and Cuſtomes without comptroll) have *ratified*. For ſo farre ought we to be from adding ought to what hath been appointed, and from giving a *value* to *anything* (howbeit otherwiſe very conſiderable,) where *cuſtome* hath given it a *diſrepute*, or *contempt*; that ſometimes theſe kind of *acceſſionals* become *derogatory*. This, that *modeſty* which becomes a *Virgin* in a *Cloyſter*, is criminall in a *Curteſan*: for ſince the eſteeme of a *Curteſan* depends upon her ſpritely ayre, amorous geſtures, aſpect, diſcourſe and dalyances: All that carryage, all thoſe graces, addreſſes, mine, and Language, which recommend a *beautifull Virgin* or *grave Matrone* to our *admiration*, are unbeſeeming in a *whore*: and *laſcivious noſe*, how criminall and odious ſoever it be elſewhere, makes up her *praiſe* and *merit*. Upon no other ground than this, was it decreed in ſome *Commonwealths*, that thoſe Citizens whoſe *vertues* were *tranſcendent*, and not of a *popular alloy*, ſhould be *baniſhed*, though *innocent*: nor was this procedure much condemned by the great Philoſo-

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pher *Aristotle*; since, in those *Republiques* all things were managed in a *regular way*, and all estates and interests reduced to a *temperament*, it seemed just even to *confine vertue it self*, and limit her within a *mediocrity* stricter than *nature* ever placed her in. Let us then accustome our selves to yeild that *precedence* and *quality* to *Riches* and *Power*, which *usage authenticates*: let us be so *wise* in these friendships, as not to place an undue value upon *Nobility*, *Learning* or *Vertue*. Let us at length behold all such as *refuse those termes* (of which there is a great number) as we would *turbulent* and *unreasonable persons*, who are as *troublesome* in their *friendships*, as the *seditious* are in *States*.

Thus it is manifest, that in these kindes of associations, such onely are comprehended as are *different in power and riches*: and the *bonds* of them are not a *particular* affection and *love* each have for others, but *utility*. From whence also it is concluded (which was before asserted) that they are *much mistaken*, who think that this sort of friendship hath *any affinity* with, or ought to be managed according to the principles of *true and exact friendship*.

Truely those men are very much deceived, and guilty of an *intolerable oversight*, who exact in these associations, those *ardours and deep concerns* which are onely to be found in *vertuous*

upon friendship. Those people ought to *distinguish* amidst such a multiplicity of *relations* as encumber and associate men one with another; and not expect to finde *every thing every where.* For, that any man should *demand* or *imagin* that *another* should quit his *own advantage*, and abandon his particular profit, to *serve him* and *procure his*, and this in *such a* friendship as is established upon *mutual conveniences*, is a *folly* no *considering* person will fall into, or *presume* upon.

It is observable, that in *this sort of friendship* both partyes propose not to themselves the *same advantages:* but *great personages* expect from those that are *indigent* and *inferiour* to them, *service*, and an *awefull regard*: on the other side, *necessitous persons* purpose to acquire *Riches* and *Honour* from Those that are possessed of Wealth and Dignity. For they which are *wealthy* propose not to themselves by this retinue any further *encrease of riches*, but they understand that the *addresses* and *dependance of inferiour persons upon them*, not onely *augments their splendour* and glory, but is *beneficiall* to them in their *domestique employments*, and hath other conveniences, besides the *particular satisfaction* they finde therein. Those that are *inferiours*, by reason of their *poverty* and that *contempt* which attends it, seeke not onely their *sustenance* and *advancement*, but pro-

protection in *rich* and *potent* families.

How that depends upon, or makes use of others, ought to understand their humours and inclinations.

Since that things are in this posture; as in all other affairs, it concerns us much to know the *qualities* and *inclinations* of those men we *negotiate* with, so it will not be amisse, in these circumstances, to make a diligent inquiry into the *nature* and inclinations of those persons with whom wee live, that we may either *accommodate* our selves to their humours, or *refuse advantages* that are not to be procured but on such *difficult termes* as we cannot submit to. In this inquiry it is not necessary that we should be very *curious* and *exact*, since *a generall account*, and such as is *commonly* if not *universally* true, will satisfie: and indeed the *humours* of particular men are so *infinite*, that if it were requisite to be acquainted therewith, the thing were not feasible.

The character of the humours of Rich men.

To begin with a character of those which are *Rich*; they are generally inclined to *pride*, and *contempt of others*: for they live as if they were masters of whatever the world calls *good*; and abounding with *money*, according to which *all things* are *valued*, and which is the *equivalent price of all things*, they imagine *nothing* to be *above their reach*, and indeed

not *already in their possession*. The *world* is but a *great market*, in which every thing is *sold*: the *opulent* suppose that whatever they can *buy*, is no great *tender*, if given; that no *present* can be made, which if it were to be *purchased*, would be *too costly* for their exchequer. And consequently, *where no expense is great, no accessional is so considerable as to oblige the receiver to an extraordinary resentment*. Thus they apprehend themselves already possess'd of *happyness*; and that they may *communicate* it to *others*, but not *derive* any *from them*. Besides, they behold all men (especially that have the reputation of *prudence*) to set themselves *wholly* upon encreasing *their estates*: they see it to be an *indisputable point*, that the *rich man* is never out of *esteeme* and repute; nor can *lose his interest*, but with his *fortune*: that *indigent vertue* is rather *admired*, then *followed*; and that *without riches* it *seldome procures*, and *never can maintain* its *esteeme*. And as for *Power*, it *wholly* subsists by *large revenues*; and vanishes without *full coffers*, or a *proportionable credit*, which must be made good by an *ample treasury* at least. Hence they conclude, they may justly bear themselves *high*, being already *enamoured* of what *all wives*, all men *admire*, and *without which* even they who *reliste* it cannot *subsist*, or effect any great exploit. Nor doth it a little adde to their *arrogance*, and *insolence*,

that many are unavoidably forced to apply themselves *to them*, and petition for *many things* at their hands. Nor are they free from the vanity of thinking that *their riches* entitles them to *Empire*, and that it is for *these treasures*, wherewith they abound, that *Sovereignty* is ambition'd. Thus *great riches* are attended with *vain-glory* and *insolence*: nor are these the onely *defects* of the *opulent*, for it is so difficult for men not to be *transported* with *good fortune*, that we may reckon *petulancy*, and a peculiar kinde of *wantonnesse* which is *unexpressible* to be *another* of their *vices*. They are also addicted to *luxury*; and where *delicacy* is not the nature of *the men*, it is their *practise*; because the *ostentation of happinesse is a part of it*. In fine, *great riches* are *noxious* [illegible], and oftentimes *create great follies*: but Civill *happinesse depends upon them*; and *good fortune* is so inseparably annexed to them, that even in *common speech*, by those *great fortunes* which befall us, we understand nothing but *great riches*. All these *vices* in *rich men*, more *notoriously* affect such as have *newly acquired* their riches, then those to whom they have *descended by inheritance*. For *custome* takes away the *admiration* and *value* we frequently have for things; and the *vastnesse* of the *purchase* lessens our *esteeme* for them: besides, who

The [illegible] of men newly made rich.

are

are *ignorant of the miseries* of an *irrelieveable condition*, & of the *benefit* that arises from *small supports therein*, or universall *deliverance* from it; understand not the *happinesse* they enjoy *themselves*, and conferre on *others*. But such as are *sensible* with how much *care* & *industry*, or *unexpected good fortune* (which happens but to some) they *enriched themselves*; who retain a *perfect memory* of their *wants*, and the *miseries* it occasioned them, and the *poore* and *necessitous thoughts and actions* it put them upon; they are surprised with the *change* of their estate: and as men newly escaped from *precipices* and as yet filled with *horrour and affright*, magnify their *passed dangers* beyond reason, so doe they too much *exalt* their *present enjoyments*, and *too overly* behold the *miserable* and the *poor*. Whereunto if we adde this other circumstance, that those who arrive to these *suddain riches*, are neither men of any *education*, nor *insight into the nature of things*, nor acquainted with the *humours* of men whom they *retain* or *converse* with; we will lesse wonder at those *follyes*, and that *vanity* which their *former ignorance*, *meane spirit*, and so vast and *unthought of* change of *fortune*, (requiring a *novell garb*, *addresses* & *parts* which they are not accustomed unto) produces in them. Examples whereby to verify and illustrate this *character*, are obvious in the City of *Rome*, and elsewhere.

If any think they are injured by this *character*, and suppose themselves free from the *vices* we impute to them; they apprehend not things aright, since the *universality* laeves roome for *particular exceptions*, and whilest the *usual all defects* of *their men* are set down, occasion is given for them to glory that they are not such.

The humours of men in power.

As for the *manners* of such as are *of great Power and Authority*, they are partly agreeable with *those of the rich*, already mentioned; partly they are *better*, they being commonly endued with a *manly spirit*, *courage*, *activity of mind*, and an *incessant desire of glory*: And as in the atchieving of high *enterprises*, the *concurrence* of others is necessary; So it is to the celebrating of their *praises*, and compleating of *their honour*, which is nothing but the *opinion others have of their deserts*; and supporting *their power* and *interest*, which is *insignificant* without a multitude of *firme dependences*. Whereupon they comport themselves rather with *gravity*, than *insolence*, towards their *inferiours*.

And thus much may office for the *humours* of such as are *rich*, and *powerful*.

The humours of the poorer sort.

The *poore* and *needy* are *sufficiently* described in *their natures*, I adde that they are *directly*

posite to those others already characterd.

Wherefore those poor people which depend upon rich, and Potent persons, ought to resolve with themselves to beare with all their inconveniences, their contumelies, injuries, and follyes, and not only to employ their patience in enduring them, but their prudence to conceale them: and enforce their inclinations, if possible, to love them; which if they cannot doe, they must make it their care to pay them all those regards and services, which the most affectionate would; for it is naturall for them to desire every one should love them: it being a certaine acknowledgement of their worth, and a testimony rendred of their agreeable carriage, when they are beloved: it being impossible for a man to affect a person whom he approves not of. Thus rich men arrogate all things to themselves, and are extraordinarily pleased with the addresses, and respects of their friends, who are in this case as so many deponents for the worth of the Grandee.

Poor dependants, how they are to depart themselves to wards their Superiours.

But it is a difficult matter to comply with the impertinencyes and follyes of these men: and to love a person whole foolery, and defects are so palpable, that he must be stupid who sees them not? and

They are to beare with their defects and follyes.

worse who *approves* them. All *this is true*, but since, as *Tiresias* in *Horace* sayes,

> *Since you cannot your selfe supply,*
> *But on another must relye!*

You *must* submit to *all this*, and endure those conditions *patiently*, which you cannot otherwise *decline*. Wherein you ought so much the lesse to scruple, since this kind of friendship is not established upon *reall vertue*, but *advancement* and *profit*. They are therefore to be condemned as *troublesome* & *malapert fellows* and *ignorant* of what becomes them: who like (*Davus* the servant in *Horace*, during the *Saturnalia*, or *twelfth-night-Kingdom*) do port themselves insolently, and reproach their *Patrons* all the year long, as he did in those *Holy-dayes*.

> *Twas Fortune that preferred thee;*
> *In one nature we agree.*
> *Curs'd chance! my vertue's my disaster!*
> *I am all worth; but you're my Master.*

This *language*, is not to be admitted; and proves often *fatall*, where the *Patron* is as powerfull, as he is *proud*: Wherefore we ought not only to avoid *such words* as these, but even to shunne *such thoughts*. For if once

man *indulge himself* in those *cogitations*, it is impossible but he will *lessen his esteem*, and consequently *fail in his respects*, and the punctuality of his applications to his *Patron*, whereon depend this whole *friendship* and *relation*. They are no lesse faulty, and incurre the same prejudice, who speak ill of their *absent Patrons*, and *derogate* from the reputation of those they ought to *revere*, and from whom they draw great advantages. These men certainly are *doubly peccant*, both because they perform not *their duty*, and because they *act repugnantly*, to what they *speak*: for they *live with*, and are the *followers* of *one* to whom they doe not vouchsafe a *good word*.

They ought not to think ill of them.

Much lesse to detract from them.

Those also that are *proud* and *haughty* ought to decline carefully *these relations*, and friendships, for there is not any thing so inconsistent with *humble addresses*, *deference*, and *obsequiousnesse*, as a *proud mind*: for we *respect*, and *abase our selves* before such as we allow to *precede* us in some *eminent* manner; but such as are highly *conceited of themselves*, will not *yeild the preeminence* to another. There is a gene-

Not to demeane themselves proudly.

ration of men in the world who are not more concerned for any thing, then not to *acknowledge any man* to be *better* then *they*, and who are so highly *opiniated* of themselves, that they think it unimaginable for *any person* to have acquired that *excellence* which *they* possess not. It is intollerable, to say *any one is a better man then they*: he is *only richer*, or *more powerfull*: they have a *lesser estate*, but are not his *inferiours*: it is death to them to think that *Merit*, and not *Poverty* should *discriminate* them. These are *morose*, *melancholique*, and *pervish* persons, that keep *accompts* of *their* services, and *register* punctually *every bowe*, *cringe*, and *complement* they make, and every *good look*, or *acknowledgement*, they are *payed* with. If they beat any time *reproved*, they produce their *table books*, and evince thence that the *Congees* are *ballanced*, and that they are not *behind* in any one respect. *So much received*, *so much paid*. Oh insupportable vanity! Oh nicety not to be insisted on! These men ought to betake themselves speedily to some *other course* of life, least they spend their dayes in continuall trouble, and anxiety, and after all sit down *with nothing*, and *curse* their *sad fortunes*, whereas *they themselves* only are to be *blamed*. He that would thrive in this employment, must be a *mild*, *flexible* and *good man*, who knows when to *lower his topsayles*,

make

make his *honour* subservient to his *interest*, and to comply with *fortune* in all her exigences: and all this with a *cheerfull soule*, or at least with that *submission* which discovers nothing of *constraint* and reluctancy: for no man *unwillingly serves* the person he respects. In this kind of *Friendship*, since *pride* in a *Patron* is a quality generally to be supposed, and since nothing gains so much upon it as *complaisance* and *respect*; all *poore* and *meane* persons ought to compose themselves with the greatest *humility* and *submission* possible: which they must manifest partly in *their words* and partly in *their actions*. In all *discourses* and *entertainments* they must use not only a *sweet mildnesse*, and *complacentiall affability*, but also *reverence*; being neither *rough*, nor *servile*, or *flattering*. Which consideration imports them much, since they are certain to have frequent occasions of *speaking* with them, and there is not any thing *sooner engages* the affections of a man then an *handsome address*, and *gracefull language*. The first caution therefore that they are to observe, is, that their *language* be *full of submission*, *humility*, and such *deference* as also tendeth to the *debasing* of our selves: for we are born in an age that is *extravagantly complementall*; nor ought we to

But to be humble in their addresses.

be

be *ashamed* of an *errour* so *universally* received. Custome *authenticates* our compliance, and to *repine* were *malapertnesse*; to *contradict* it, an *insufferable arrogance*. It would be tedious to *enumerate* particular advertisements; to have *intimated* them is sufficient.

Never to dissent from their Patron's judgement, or but modestly.

Moreover if at any time we are compelled to *dissent* from our *Patron*, and *oppose his judgement*, it must be done *warily*, and *very seldom*, and never but when it is *not possible* to *avoide* it: for it doth not become the same person to *dispute*, and to *obey*. It comonly happens at *meetings* and *entertainments*, there are *dubious* and *subtile questions* propoſed and controverted: hereupon several persons of *great ingenuity and parts* expose themselves thorough their *imprudence*: for they *assume* to themselves the *whole discourse*, as if it were *their due*: they *object*, they *reply* sharply, they *propound*, they *confound* all things, they debate *obstinately*, *without end*, *without moderation*, (I had almost said) *without sense*: this is no signe of *reflexion*, or *discretion*. I know they are apt to reply, how they are not to be blamed for *refuting* an opinion which an *ignorant*, and *illiterate blockhead* propoſed: *he* started it on purpose to engage *them* in talk; the question was *intricate*

Interests and not be resolved in *few words*, and appertained to *those studies* in which they were singular; and therefore the *mentioning* of it could not otherwise be looked on, then as a *challenge*, or *essay of their abilities*; and therefore they ought not to be blamed for chosing with a *proffered opportunity* to manifest *their great parts* in ample discourses. *All this I know, and I am further sure*, that where the *debates* are like to prove *obscure* or *tedious*, more will *start controversies* than will *hear them willingly stated*: many will *object*, that will not *endure your addition*, and having *presumed too much* upon their opinions and reasons, place a *confidence* and *poynant refutation*. These are to be entreated like *friends*, not *adversaries*: every *advantage* is not to be taken against them, nor *every thrust put home*, nor must *your whole strength* be employed against them. There is *policy* sometimes in *abandoning the Field*, and quitting a *certain victory*: It is not necessary that we always *overcome*, much lesse *triumph*: Some *Conquests* have been *fatall* to the *victors*: or else the (*) *Victory of Cadmus*, had never given occasion to the *Proverb*. But they will rejoyn,

(*) That by a *victory attended with the ruine of the Conquerors* as at *Thebes* the *Argives* were overcome by the *Cadmeans* at *Thebes*: but they drew upon themselves a War afterwards with the *Athenians*, wherein they were overcome. *Erasm. Adag.*

that

that it is a difficult thing for a *man*, whose *reputation* is [illegible] in *question* then the *thing discussed*, being *adorned* with *dispute* about a thing he is supposed or particularly pretends to be versed in, to refrain himself and to indulge to yield to an *insolent pury*; flesh and blood cannot endure this. All this I question not, or, if they will have me to doe so, I allow of. But I am sure, and dare avow it, that *this procedure is hurtfull* to them: and multiplies *adversaries*, rather than *converts*. No *generous soul will twice become the scorn of a Pedant*, but *hate* him as *uncivill*, whose *Levening* otherwise he would *commend*. It behoves therefore these kind of men either *surregulate* their *passions*, abate of their *pride*, and *confidence*, and *accommodate* themselves to the *humours* of others: or confesse that they are *incapable* of this kind of *friendship*.

To be cautious in their railing with them.

Let them also take heed how they *raily*, and jest with, *rich or powerfull* men, when they are not *inclined*, and in a manner *commanded* by them to *that familiarity*: for in *raillery* there is a *freedome* assumed, that agrees not, nay, which *repugnes* with *Grandeur*: and makes those seem *follower* who are *superiours*: Besides there goes along with it a kind of *security*, and *presumption* upon the others *facile nature*, which a *proude* and *great spirit* will

will not ordinarily *endure*. As for the *Taunts* and *Sarcasmes* of *great men*; how *sharp* and *biting* soever they be, they are to be entertained with a *serenity of look* and *mind*, as *pleasantly retorted*, and otherwise diverted: there ought to be no *resentment*, how passionate soever one be; nor how highly soever provoked: *no emotion of the soul*, or *countenance*, that may evince our *displeasure*, or *disgust*: Great persons think themselves *condemned* of *folly*, when their *actions* are *disallowed*: which as it is *inconsistent* with that *haughty spirit* and arrogance their *Greatnesse* inspires them with; so it is as *unbefitting* one that *depends* on their *favour*; who *owes all* his good fortune *to them*; and who ought rather to reflect upon the *unusual confidence* they have in him, by being so *familiar*; then be angry for their over-acting it. As for *sharp replyes* and answers upon *such jests*, they are to be eschewed: It is not for the *same person* to avenge his *wrongs*, and to be *concluded* under *obedience*. This advise is the more *impracticable*, by how much more *pregnant* and quick a man *wit* is: for *ingenious answers* so easily occurre to them, and so unawares fall from them, that without great *discretion* and command of their tongues, they are to be reckoned amongst the *unsociable*; *and men of dangerous and unagreeable conversation*. It requires more than

common

common patience, for a *man of spirit*, that is *always armed*, and *often assaulted*, not to *strike again*: yet this must not be done in these circumstances: *No cause* can be just for a man to oppose his Superiours; who if they be *overcome*, hate; and esteeme themselves *foyled*, if *opposed*. Hence we see that being nettled with any reply, they immediately change the discourse, and avoide to intermeddle with those that handle them so roughly. Now, as by *pleasant converse*, *continuall applications* and *gentilesses*, the proud are gained upon: so they are lost by *crabbed looks*, *melancholique silence* and *sullenesse of humour*. Moreover, it is ridiculous for a man to *repine* at their *jests*, whose *injuries* he must *pocket up*. It becomes therefore *poor Mindigent relations*, not only to take in good part the *sallyes of wit* or even *immoderate jesting* in their *Patrons*; but also to expresse a great *joy* and satisfaction in that *familiarity* they are admitted unto. And in the whole remaining course of their life, let them compose themselves with that moderation, that their discourse be agreeable, and so pleasant as the *humour* of their *Patron* requires, or will endure: For this is the *chart* they must *sayle by*: His *will* and *nature* is that *rule*, according to which they are to frame their speech: And avoid *taciturnity* and *pensiveness*, which (how *melancholique* soever

he

he be) in a *dependant* it *odious*, and displeasing, and commonly *suspicious*: for it usually creates in *Great persons* an opinion, that such as are *sad*, dislike their own condition, or the behaviour of their *Patrons*: neither of which is acceptable. They ought not also to be *talkative*, nor intrude into his *privacyes*, or *debates*: this is to be *reconcileable* with that reverence that is due from *them*. Nor ought they to seek, or *minister occasion of discourse*; but stay till it be *given*, or that they be *commanded* to doe it, thereby to passe away the time; as often it happens. For it becomes those, as *Great men*, to *choose* what matter they will hear *spoken* of; and he is justly blamed, who makes haste to beginne a discourse before his *betters*.

They are not to be of a sullen humour, or aspect.

Not forward in discourse.

I formerly insinuated, that *in this sort of friendship* men ought to avoid *flattery*: I now come to propose my reasons for that *caution*; since others are of a different judgement, and thinke nothing to be more *advantageous*: They doe particularly recommend the *practise thereof*, endearing it by the *examples* of many *illustrious persons*, who have accumulated great riches, and gotten great honours *solely by*

Not addicted to flattery.

these

these wishes. But how *gainefull* a course soever this may seeme, I thinke a man ought not *totally to estoigne* himself from the regard of *honesty* and *justice.* Though I doe not bind him up to the *rules* of that *strict* and *imaginary vertue* to be found onely in the *Books* of *Philosophers*, and *harangues of malecontents*; yet there is a certaine *vulgar honesty* (like *Sterling coyne*, with a legitimate alloy, *current* and *passable*) which I would not have them *relinquish*: nor, for any profit, to render themselves *base* and *unworthy.* For, if once they *disengage* themselves from the *obligations* of *common honesty*, even such as *employ* them in *unjust actions*, or are *privy* to them, have no wayes to secure *themselves* from *their* attempts upon *themselves*, in *robbing*, or *betraying* them. A man may have his *particular failings*, yet whilest he retaines a *due esteeme* and reverence for those *generall maximes* of *Justice* which support *humane commerce*, & civill societyes; he may be looked on as a *weake person*, but not *rejected* or *detested* as *absolutely wicked.* But whosoever makes light of *all those considerations* which oblige *man to man*, and which represent him as *vertuous*; how small soever his *miscarriages* be, yet is he not to be *trusted* (however he may be made *use* of) nor admitted to bear a part in

New debauched in their morals.

thy society, much leſſe *in this* we ſpeake of. Beware therefore leaſt the *deſires* you have of *benefiting* your ſelfe, tranſport you beyond the rules of *honeſty*. Now, what is more remote from *honeſty*, than *flattery*? what more *generall artifice* is there to introduce and propagate *vitiouſneſſe* in men, then that? wherefore take heed,

Seeke not a parafite *to be,*
Having profeſſed amity.

There is a very great affinity betwixt *flattery* and *obſequiouſneſſe*: and indeed it is univerſally true, that *vertue* & *vice* have ſuch a *reſemblance*, they ſometimes approach ſo neare each other, that it is hard to diſcerne betwixt them, or to diſtinguiſh one from the other: yet are there certaine precepts, which who ſo ſhall adhere unto, he ſhall preſerve his *integrity*, without *diſſerveing* himſelfe.

There is a certaine *temperament of language*, and way of moderating our ſelves in our diſcourſes, which *vertue* being deſtitute of a *proper* and peculiar *name*, the *Ariſtotelian* Philoſophers thought fit to borrow an appellation for it from *Friendſhip*, and to call it εὐτραπελίαν: becauſe thoſe who have that *ſingular endowment*, manage their converſation with all that *affa-*

The nature of an agreeable converſation.

bility, courteſie, and *obliging deportment*, which uſually intervenes betwixt *Friends*. And it conſiſts in this, that we neither *abſolutely reſigne* our ſelves up to the will and ſentiments of thoſe we aſſociate with, nor abuſe their civility with a *petulant behaviour*: retaining a *cheerefulneſſe* and *alacrity* of ſpirit without fulſomeneſs, as *grave*, but not *auſtere*. To conduct us in this *mediocrity* and *temper*, it imports us much to know both *thoſe we have to doe with*, and *our ſelves*. And theſe, as all other things are beſt underſtood, by *comparing* thoſe in which the *diſtance* is *remarkable*, rather than ſuch where the *diſtinction* is more *ſubtile* and *nice*; as *parents* and *children*, *private* and *publique perſons*. For that *addreſſe* which is *proper* and *due* to a *private perſon*, ſuits not with one whoſe *capacity* is *more publique*: what in one is *civill*, is *fawny* and malapert in the other. For a *ſonne*, to *reprove* his *Parents*, 'tis *impiety*; to cenſure a *Magiſtrate*, 'tis *rebellion*: to condemn ones *equall*, 'tis no *unbeſeeming* action. The *accommodation of language* our *client* muſt punctually obſerve. The *caſe* is *nice*; he walks betwixt two precipices; he muſt neither *ſervilely flatter*, nor be *clownishly morose*. All this he ſhall attain unto, if I be not deceived, without much difficulty, if in convenient place and time, he *enlarge* and ſomewhat *expatiate* himſelfe in the *praiſe* of all *ſuch qualities* and *elo-*

as he findes *really commendable* in his *Patron*; and *never touch* upon any thing that is to his *prejudice* or disparagement: To *admire* and *reprehend*, it is an act becoming *equals*, not *inferiours*. And to *magnifie* what is not *praise-worthy*, and which a man approves not, is the quality of a *base*, *treacherous*, and *deceitfull* person. All his discourse ought to be attended with *modesty* and *respect*, not onely because this is the most becoming *civill person*, but by reason that *liberty of speech* argues *us* to be too *secure* and to *presume* upon the nature of those we discourse with. Let him avoid *obscenity* and *ribaldry*: whatever is *wanton*, or *unseemly*, let it not be so much as *named*; let every word, and every action signalize it self by its *particular decorum*, and manifest that our *client* is no way *indifferent* what opinion his *Patron* have of him. Let him also take heed that all his carryage, every motion of his, whither he *walk*, *stand*, *sit*, or *eat*: that his *hands*, his *eyes*, his *voyce*, all have nothing that is *puerile*, *affected*, or *distastfull*: And not only this (which is an advise pertaining to another part of *morality*) but that all be managed with that *grace* and *mine*, as to *evidence* how much he *reverenceth* and almost adores his *Superiour*. No *profuse laughter*, no *outcryes* or *piercing exclamations*, no *rude* or *unciuill posturer*, no *yawning*, or *frequent spittings*,

nothing that carryes with it either *neglect*, *indecency*, or *excessive freedome*, is to be tolerated. All that *liberty* and *negligence of garbe*, which some use when they would be *debonair*, and divert themselves from serious cogitations, is to be confined to the *privacyes* of men of *equall ranke* and quality. Our *client* must never be so *intimate*: Not but that at *some* times, and for *some* while, with *some* persons, a *pleasant familiarity* and freedome may *happen* to succeed well: but *No man ever miscarried through excesse of respect, or was disgraced for retaining a constant and proportionate sense of his Patrons Grandeur.* That *Great man* either *forgets*, or *abases* himself, who seeks his divertisement with his *inferiours*; and when he either recollects himself, or resumes his former thoughts, he apprehends the *absurdity* and *danger* of these *condescensions*: and his *serious* and *deliberate judgement* is, that a *client* who *complies* with his *Patron's* weaknesse, takes *too much notice* thereof; and may perhaps be induced *thereby* to *pretend* to a *further interest* in him at *other* times, then he *ever* thinks *ought* to be allowed *him*: hereupon to secure himself from the effects *his indiscretion* hath made him *lyable* to, he *esloignes* himself from his *client*, who ought *alwayes* to remember his *own condition*, whatsoever his *Master doth*. Our *client* also ought particularly to see that he

be *decently cloathed*, with that neatneſſe, and bravery, which ſuites with the *dignity* of his *Patron*. There is no *Great man* but prides himſelf up in the *oſtentation* of his *riches* and *quality*; and delights in perpetual acknowledgements of his *magnificence* and ſeeming felicity: Beſides, it is a part of their *ſplendor* and *luxury*, to be ſerved by men of a *good age*, *mine*, and *garbe*.

Of the garbe and attire of ſuch as are dependants.

Although that it is certaine that by their *language* and *addreſſe*, men render *very great* teſtimonies of their *reſpect*: yet it is *more amply* expreſſed by *action*. Wherefore it behoves *inferiour* perſons continually to attend upon their *ſuperiours*, and readily to *entertaine*, & *diſpatch* their *commands*: Not is it *imprudently* done of them to uſe that *conduct* in rendering their ſervices, as to *endear* them to *their Maſters* knowledg by *ſuch ceremonious neſſe*, as may not *retard* their affairs, yet *evince* that *extraordinary concerne* and regard they have for their *Patron's quality*, as well as *perſon*. It is not only neceſſary that buſyneſſe be *done*; there is an *artifice* in making *known* that *it is ſo*: and many actions are *loſt* for not being *ſufficiently averred*. Great men multiply their dependances more out of *ſtate*, then *neceſſity*: there is a *grandeur*

Of their adreſſe and attendance on their ſuperiours.

in the pompous delivery and receiving a *meſſage*. An *affectionated diſreſpect* ſeldome *proſpers*; it obligeth not ſo much by its *ſincerity*, as it *provokes* by its *ill example*, and that diminution it carryes with it of the *Patron's* dignity. Wherefore let them not *ſlight* theſe conſiderations; let them be conſtantly in his *preſence*, and alwayes make up a part of his *retenue*: let them be *aſſiduous*, but not *troubleſome*. Let them not imagine that becauſe he hath *menial* Servants & particular Officers for *common employments* and attendance, that therefore they are to be *excuſed* waiting. It is their *appearance* is requiſite, not their *aydes*. And *this circumſtance* hath nothing *ſingular* in it, but extends to all *inferiour perſonages*. Thoſe which *delay* and *ariſe*, who *diſpute* or *tranſfer commands* (as more proper to others) who come *late*, or often *abſent* themſelves, introduce an *ill example* in this kind of *relations*: and being *poſſeſſed* of their *own* regards and applications, doe as it were *inſtruct* their *Patron* how he ought to comport himſelf *towards them*, and not to be *prodigall* in his *favours*, where their *returnes* are *niggardly* appaid. Who makes himſelf a *beggar*, ought not to wonder if he be *treated* as ſuch. In the *managing* of *buſineſſe*, and diſpatch of *commands*, the firſt thing to be obſerved is a great *fidelity* and *integrity*: And

that

that, not only because it is *decent*, and most *fitting*; but also because it is most *advantageous*: for *Great men* where they finde a *faithfull* Servant, they usually *entrust* themselves with him, and rely upon his *care* and *honesty*, and are thereby induced to promote his *peculiar interest*. Besides this *trustynesse* our *clients* must have a *subtilety of wit* and ingenuity, to manage all things with that *conduct*, and quickneſſe, as if it were his *own* concernment: or *more vigorously*, if possible; because it is more difficile to govern *others affairs* than a man's *own*. But *these* advertisements are *generall* to *all* men of *busyneſſe*, and *all* societies: In our *relation* it is a *particular advise*, not so much to regard what is *really best* to be done, or what method is *best* to effect it, but what our *Master* will *best* approve: to whom since *Fortune* hath *subjected* our *persons*, we must *resigne* our *judgements*. I shall instance but in *one case*, which he that will may make *further use* of. Great persons commonly retaine in their service some *Learned persons* as *Secretaries*, whom they exercise in the *penning of Letters*, and *manifestos*, upon severall subjects, to the end that they may be ready to indite them upon

Of their prudence, and our dull in affaires.

They are to manage affaires according to the judgment of their Patron, and his own.

any exigency, for *them to signe.* These men adhereing to these *rules* and *precepts* which they have framed to themselves out of their own observation, reading, and converse with learned and prudent persons, very frequently displease their *illiterate, humourſome* and *phantaſticall Patrons*, who account *the numerosity of their periods*, and *Politeneſs* of speech, *pedantry*; and all that is *Rhetoricall*, to be but *Academique impertinences*, and the *dotages* of such as never understood the *World*, or *buſineſs*. Hereupon they blot out all that is *good* and *proper*; alter the whole design and *texture* of the writing, and deprave it according to the *capriciouſneſs* of their particular *phanſy*. What should a man do in this case? what counsell must our *unfortunate Scholler* betake himself unto? I know none better, than that of *Euripides* in his *Phœniſſa*.

Amongſt Fools thy wit diſguiſe,
how hard a matter soever it prove,
'Tis criminall then to be wiſe.

I conclude therefore that as in their *writings*, so in their *actions*, the *rule* they are to order them by, is their *Patron's approbation*, and allowance: This is the *standard*, and measure they are to be *tryed* by; it is from *him* they have their *value*; as the {King's stampe

and

and Image makes of any *alloy current* Silver. They ought not to be solicitous what is *truly* the best, not perplexe themselves with *scruples* out of *Divinity*, *Morallity*, or *Politicks*: Their *Patrons will* is their *Oracle*: his *pleasure* makes *every* thing *just*, and *reasonable*, and *prudentiall*: who understands this thoroughly, needs no other *Casuist*, *Councellour*, or *Confessour*: Nor ought he to *satisfie* himself how *well* affaires are managed; but how much to his *Patrons satisfaction*. Let our *client* therefore learn his *Masters humour* and *caprichoes*, as well as *interest*: let him informe himself of his *particular inclinations*, and passions, and the *extent* of his *reason*: let him know the *language* of his *frownes*, and *smiles*, and the dialect of his eyes, *in all circumstances*. Then shall he be *accomplished* for this *Ministery*.

This is the *whole part* which an *inferiour* is to act; these are his rules by which he is to guide and move himself. They are set down in *generals*; but the more full illustration of them, and accommodation to *particular* cases and accidents, is a laborious worke, and which each man must supply himself withall.

Rich and great men how they are to comport

As for the *rich* and *factious* they are much more to attend unto the subsequent rules and

directions

themselves to wards their inferiour dependants.

directions: because that *power*, if not regulated by *wisedome*, disposes them to *greater follyes* and extravagancyes then others: And if they be for a while left to *their own wills*, without any checke or guidance, *vices* take *deeper* root in them (*as weeds in rich ground*) and afterwards growe too prevalent to be extirpated. For, what is it, that a man would not undergoe rather then subject himself to the *barbarous pride* and capriciousnesse of some persons, that I could name, but shall not? who are of so *odious* and insupportable a nature, that it is not to be wondered if even men of *despicable fortunes* and rank, choose rather to suffer their *present want* and penury, then *approach* or submit to them. But such as are *poor* and *indigent*, instead of a *Tutour* have the sense of their *own wants* continually to checke them; and that *necessity* which compels them to seek their advancement in the service of another, *daily* makes them apprehensive least they *loose* it: And, if they doe offend, the *miserable* shall never want such as will *blame them*. Let *rich men* therefore know, that they themselves are obnoxious to *Lawes*, and that neither *Revennues*, nor *Dignity* exempts from *certaine rules*: Nature hath prefixed bounds to *paternall* authority; and it is *impiety* for any to exceed *them*. They ought

ought not to despise and set at nought all such as they surpasse in estate, and to think that because they are not *rich*, therefore they are not *men*. Nor are they to exact *all manner of services* from *every client*; for though he be *not able* to subsist of himself, he is not therefore immediately to be *abased* and employed in the *meanest* and most abject *offices*. There are *differences* betwixt man and man, where *riches* intervene not: and in the *distribution* of their affaires, this *disparity* is to be regarded. Even all *Great men* are not *equall* in dignity or estate, and as absolutely as the *client* is to resigne himself up to his *Patrons* will, and as *requisite* as it is for him to do so, yet that *discrepancy* of *Great persons* makes a *necessary distinction* betwixt the respects *due* to the one and other. Hence it is (that I may illustrate the thing more by the most remote comparisons) we *mortals* pray to *God* and honour him with a *pious devotion*; but should a *Great man* demand of his vassals to *rear Altars*, and Sacrifice to him, and change their respects into their Religion: He were *mad*: And it is visible that we pay not to severall illustrious *Princes* the *same homage*, which the *Persians* doe to their *King*. Wherefore, as it is the *clients* part to serve his *Patron* without repining, cheerfully, and some-

They ought not to despise and undervalue them too much.

times

times without staying to be called upon: So it becomes the *Patrons* not to abuse their facility and complyance, nor to oppresse them with *punctilios*. He ought to remember, that those he imployes, those that serve him, are *not his Slaves*, but *Friends of a lesser degree*, and as *mercenary* as they seeme to be, *fortune* and their own *wills* only, not *nature* subjected them to *him*. They are *free men*; *this* they *owe* not onely to the *Lawes* in being (which is manifest) but to their *birth-right*. If there be any such thing as *naturall slavery* and *dominion*, it is where there is the like *difference* as betwixt *men* and *beasts*: or where the *one* hath *abilityes* to direct, and the *other* is either *devoyd of reason*, or hath *only so much* left as, joyned with *abilities of limbs*, capacitates him to be *serviceably ruled*. But these we speak of now under the notion of *inferiour friends*, they are not *meerly* qualified for porters, and such *drudgery-works*, requiring onely strength of Body, but they are *such* as *merit* our commendation for their *industry*, *wit* and *experience*. Thus it is clear that they are *free*: and it is *custome* (as I said in the beginning) which gave this *relation* the name of *servitude*: which tearme, as *harsh* as it is, *use* hath somewhat qualified: for even *rich* and *Great men* when they accost their *inferiour*

They are free-men.

ſeriour acquaintances, in civility they profeſſe themſelves to be their *Servants*, becauſe it is the *faſhion* ſo to ſay. So that the word is now rather an argument of *regard*, then *ſervice* or *vaſſallage*. But ſuch as make enquiries into the *true nature* of things, ought not to *perplex* themſelves about *words*. For as long as the *ancients* furniſhed themſelves with *Slaves* out of the *captives* taken in *Warre*, and that there was no *ſtanding Lawes* prohibiting that *uſage*, there was no great reaſon why they ſhould deſire to make uſe of *perſons* whoſe *freedome* rendred them *leſſe obnoxious* to their commands and *power*. Therefore it is no wonder if they did not afford it a *peculiar name* in their *language*, which had *ſcarce* any place in their Country. But after that *Chriſtianity* had allayed the fierceneſs of mens minds, and abated the ſeverity of *unfortunate* wars: when it began to be reputed an *impious* cruelty to *enſlave* thoſe who were *ſervants to the ſame God*, & not ſo eſtranged in *enmity* as to *diſagree in Religion*; about that time it is probable that men of *inferiour rank* & extraction being in want, began to be retained by *greater* and *richer perſons* in *ſallary*, to diſcharge thoſe employments which *ſlaves* formerly underwent: and in proceſs of time it became ſo little *diſgracefull*, that even men

Not Slaves, however they be called Servants.

of

of better quality than ordinary, scorned not to take *wages* in like manner. But this custome is not supposed to have prevailed till the declination of the *Roman Empire*, when their *authority* was extinct who had *power* alone to give it a *Latine name*. Hence it is destitute of a *convenient appellation*; and it is not worth the while to *invent* a new name, which it is *uncertain* how it will *succeed*; and therefore I shall be content to express the parties by the names of *Clients* and *Patrons*; *servants and Masters*, *superiours* and *inferiours*: and the *relation* betwixt them by that of *conjunction*, and *friendship*, not that any of these are *proper*, but that they are *significant* enough to cause me to be understood. And so I end this digression.

Wherefore such as depress their *poor Clients* even to *Slavery* (which, who is there that endeavours not to do?) they do not onely carry themselves *inhumanely* and unmercifully, but act *tyranny*, and injustice. For how *Lordlike*, and *tyrannicall*, is it to walk abroad daily in the Garden or Grove, with a *numerous retinue* of these *friends* standing on the right and left hand, with their hats off, and yet never so much as to vouchsafe them a *good look*? Let us reserve this deportment for *Kings* alone: And for those who are not *possessed* of *Empires* and *Monarchies*, let them not pre-

tend

tend to *royalty*; lest their *followers* hate them, and their *enemies* deride them. They are as *faulty*, who embrace every little occasion to *quarrell* with their *honest* and well meaning *creatures*, in publick; to chide, to rail upon them when the errour is so little, that their *folly* becomes the onely *remarkeable* thing. What should *this* generation do with *servants*? For, howsoever that it be not for *them* to question the demeanour of their *Patrons*, or regret any things yet it becomes those others to consider what *pressures* they lay upon them. As for those who are so *furious*, and *passionate*, as to assault and beat such as by their *Subjection* have not lost their *liberty*: I think them fitter for *Bedlam*, than a *serious reproof*. *Aristotle* maintains, that betwixt the *servant* & *Master* there intervenes *no such relation*, as to make the *former* capable of an *injury*: Every action (he saies) is *just*, not will he allow any *duty* that he may *challenge* from *his Master*. Yet since even those *servants* are *men*, he thinks it not amiss if the *Master* regulate his *power* by the rules of *common humanity*. Nor is that saying impertinent, which the *crafty* and roguish *Sauria* makes use of to a *Free man* who brawled with him.

Ought men to be beaten, or ill used.

I am a man, as well as you.

But

But *Aristotle* speakes of *absolute Slaves*; And, however, his discourse *abstracts* from *Christianity*. But our *Petty Tyrants*, that have not to do with *slaves*, treat *all* as if they were *such*, or indeed as if they were *not men*; yet do they *not* extend to *them* that regard they have for *their beasts*. For those *Horses* they use for their *Saddle*, or *Coach*, they take *great care* of *them*: they neither *over-worke* them, nor *harrasse* them out with *ordinary labour*, they afford them *rest*, and *ease* when they are *weary*; and cure them being *sick*, or *lame*: but for these *poor clients*, who hath any *regard* or care? who pities them being *tyred*, or looks after them being sick? Is there any condition more *deplorable*, or vexatious, than that of such as are *retainers* to *Great personages* in *Rome*? This deportment is not onely repugnant to *Christian-charity* and humility, but even that *common notion* of *humanity* which is imprinted in *every man*: let not therefore *excesse of good fortune* destroy in any man the resentments of *nature*: nor let the apprehensions of their own riches and greatnesse cause them to forget that their *Clients* though *poor*, are *Freemen*. Yet must I confess that it is hard for a man to observe a *just conduct*, and to comport himself with an unblameable *evenness* in *all* occasions: Or so much as, upon mature consideration, to determine what that *equability* is according to

which

which actions are to be regulated. For there is a great difference in persons, times, ages, the nature of things, mens manners, customs of Countries, and an infinite number of other circumstances; all which various emergencies cause us to vary our addresses and regards: and which require a vast comprehension that they be quickly and duely understood. I do not pretend to a greater judgment then other men; nor do I think it necessary to boast of my intellectuals: since in this exigency there needs no more, then that men perfectly remember those precepts I have already set down. And those precepts are only two in number. *Viz. That men would not abuse the obsequiousnesse of their Clients, but employ them with that tenderness and civility, and so adjust unto them their negotiations, that they may apprehend themselves not to be indifferent to their Passions, nor them insensible.* And, *That they do not mistake morosity for Grandeur, nor great passions for Greatness.* Wherefore as often as men have occasion to make use of the service of others in the management of their affairs, they are to consider the *quality* of the severall persons about them, and with a regard thereunto, to appoint *mean* and *sordid employments* to men of as *base* a *ranke* and *extraction*: They ought not (as

Two great directions for Superiours, how to deport themselves towards their Inferiours.

some preposterously do, (to their own disparagement more then that of others) employ Gentlemen in their Kitchins, and Scullery, or such like mean offices. *There is not so much of state in that ambitious humour of being served only by persons of worth; as there is odium, in debasing them so low.* Nor ought they to set weak and sickly persons to hard labour: nor to cause the former and grave to personate the *Antique* or *Buffoon*, nor the aged to act the parts of the young and sprightly. *Homer* doth not represent his *Achilles* so as if he employed *Phœnix*, that reverend old man, to be his Butler; but sixeth this employment on *Patroclus*, a man of more agreeable years and spirit.

They ought not to be put upon unnecessary trouble.

They are also to take care that they never impose an extraordinary truft, or laborious command, on any, or engage them in any great quarrell, but upon a great cause, or inevitable necessity: For common humanity obligeth us not to make a Sport of, or any way to misuse the good nature, care and vigilancy of another. For even such as are *absolute servants* love not jeallings of so much trouble and importance to them, and commonly expresse their resentments as bitterly as he in the *Comedian*.

Slave

Slave that I am to a capricious Master! Is this a time of night to go to towne in? This errand might have been respited till daylight.

Dædalus, that brave Engineer, is is said to have had all manner of springs and Machines of iron wherewith mechanically to represent the actions of *severall living creatures*: But, can any man imagine that he ever made those to *fly*, whose nature it was to *swimme*? or, that having no occasion to exercise his art, that he yet never permitted them to rest, or stand still? Let them then generally follow his example and let them temper their commands with mildnesse and moderation. As for those who are *all imperiousnesse*, who know no *requests* but what are *expresse commands*, who *enforce* those services they might otherwise *readily dispose* of; with whom every *failure*, is *criminall*; and two or three *petty defects* an unpardonable *miscarriage*: certainly these persons are not onely very injurious and oppressive in their demeanour; but ought to apprehend their own condition, as being environed rather with so many *enemies*, then accompanied with a large retinue of *Friends*.

Nor be put upon unsuitable employments.

Nor too imperiously treated.

There is also in the ordinary discourse and conversation of *great men*, a certain *mild neſſe* and *affability*, or rather staidneſſe, and severity of temper mixed with *courteſy* and *jocundneſſe*, which whosoever practiles, their dependents respect them as if they were their parents, and are so farre from detesting them as *tyrants*, that they have a great affection for them. It is incident to humane nature, to *hate* whom they stand in *fear* of. But ostentimes it falls out, that many men studying to avoid excessive *familiarity* (which they think inconsistent with that *port* and *Grandeur* which is requisite to their quality) they become *peevish* and *Surly*. It will be no impertinent digression from our present purpose, to relate the story of *Deioces* a *Mede*, who was endowed with very great wisdome. *Herodotus* tells us, how by reason of the great opinion his Countrey had of his justice, he was chosen *King*, and amongst severall laudable customes he put in practise, this was one, whereby he preserved the dignity and honour of that Throne he was newly advanced to. Whatsoever busineſs he had to dispatch, or employment to conferre on any man, he managed it by others, so as that he suffered never any *Median* either to speak with him, or once to see him. This worthy personage

But with affability.

did

did apprehend very much least he should be envied by his Subjects: and that they who had lately been his equals, and lived in as good fashion as he, would not patiently endure he should possess that extraordinary splendor & honour they themselves had conferred on him. This inconvenience he thought to remedy thus, if he not onely declined their *converse*, but *presence*; and accustoming them to the commands of a *King*, he extinguished in them by degrees the remembrance of that *private condition* in which they had been better acquainted, and which they could never totally forget whilst the memory of it would be renewed by constant *visits* and *enterviewes*. Nor indeed is it unusuall for men to *fear*, and highly esteem those things that are removed from their sight, and with which they are unacquainted: and that Opinion, like a multiplying Glass, should magnifie things at a *distance*. Yet would not I advise *Great men* so to demean themselves towards their *Inferiours* and dependants, as if they were their *Brothers*; and make them their *confidents*: no, this *complaisance* is peculiar to *realll* and *sincere friendship*. But as I would not make this last my advice, so neither can I allow this *austere* and *sullen* behaviour. It is true *Dioces* did well, considering

Yet not with too much kindnesse.

the *unsettledness* of his new *Government*, and the Persons he ruled over, who were *Barbarians* inured to *absolute Monarchy*? Yet certainly his condition was attended with a great many *unpleasant circumstances*; particularly, in that he deprived himself *of all society*, and that delight which ariseth from the *conversation of friends*. Wherefore let *great men* preserve their *State* and *honour*; yet by means agreeable; and when their leasure permits, let them willingly lend an ear to the applications of their domestiques, and reply courteously, and sometimes begin discourses with them, and rally with them, and comport themselves with mildness: to the end that *they* may not altogether resent their ill *fortune*, but be satisfied that if their necessitousness reduce them to depend on *another*, yet their quality is not *absolutely servile*. Let no man abuse himself; *humane nature delights not in being subject*: All men affect liberty; and however many ambitiously and vainly *boast* and make shew of the *Empire* they have over *others*; wise men are content to *possess* it, without unnecessary *ostentation* thereof.

Their Services usually dissembled.

There are some who *malitiously* dissemble an affection for their *Clients*, to the end that they may oblige them more effectually in their service; they

humour

humour them with *very good words* and *small favours*, and having reaped from their industry and unwearied diligence all advantages imaginable; they recompence the assiduity of their services with a little good *language*. This is an unworthy deportment, and so farre from becomeing a person of worth, that it is not to be endured in any body: it is a *meer roguery*, and if it be not *heinous* to defraud a man of his *money* and *estate*; it is *criminall*, to robbe a man of the *fruits* of his *labours*, and many years *assiduities*; to defeat his *hopes*, and that expectation which we our selves fomented in him.

It is also a subtill but unjust artifice which some men use, who reckon it amongst the *obligations* they have put upon their domestiques, that they have not evilly entreated them; they register every *good look*, *civill word*, or *courteous action* of theirs, and think they have thereby sufficiently rewarded them for all the *cares*, *troubles*, and *dangers* they have undergone for their sakes. I must tell those persons, that it was no part of their *agreement*, or *expectation*, when they first came together, *to be serv'd*: they never proposed to themselves the requitall of our *courtesy*, or *civility*, by *another*; but that *riches*, and *worldly profit* should accrue to them by that dependance. And it is not *true payment*, if having

hired a *Fidler* to play all day at a feast, we should when he demands his money, invite him to sit down at the table, and to hear us sing or play in the like manner, or perhaps more skilfully. No, he did not (as I may say) *lend* his *money*, to be repayed *in kind*, but *sell* it.

Furthermore, it behoves *inferiour relations* to put up the wrongs and injuries done them by their *Superiours*, and not onely patiently to support their enormities, but with complaisance to behave themselves thereupon. So on the other side, it becomes great *persons* not to take notice of every little *fault* in their *inferiours*, nor rigorously to insist upon each *punctilio* with them, nor to censure them for every *petty defect* in their manners. For we may easily guesse, how hard or rather impossible a matter it is to find another man *entirely complaisant* and never to disoblige us in word, gesture, or action: since we our selves, who ought better to understand our minds and inclinations than any other can, can never so conduct our affairs as to be alwayes satisfyed with the management thereof. Wherefore let them take heed lest they fall into too violent a passion, or too severely resent the defaults of their poor servants, as often

Every little defect in them ought not to be reproved.

ten as they mistake or erre in the discharge of their ordinary employes, or dispatch not a message so well, or fulfill not a command so punctually, or readily, as might have been expected, or wished. There are many who are too rigorous herein; not imagining that it is much more easie to contrive than to put in execution a thing; and that how facil so ever it be at first appearance in the designing, yet many accidents and difficulties intervene, which impede and retard it's performance. Nor ought they onely to connive at, and pardon such faults as be *purely involuntary*, or as humane frailty precipitates them into; but also diligently to examine their own breasts, and to consider whether they themselves have well weighed all circumstances, and that they are not either *in part* or *altogether culpable* for those *defects*, which are imputed to their *poor servants*. For it commonly happens, that all the providence and forecast of the most wise and carefull servant becomes successeles, and prejudicial, thorough the indiscretion, peevishness, inconstancy of mind, and hastiness of humour in the Master. Which made him to cry out in that ancient Comedy.

Pardon, ye Gods! the destiny's too bad,
To be a Slave, and to a man that's mad.

Let

Let them beware therefore how they censure, condemn, or otherwise reprove their servants, whenas they themselves onely are in fault, and deserve to be blamed.

Moreover whereas this conjunction is effected, and that men enter on this dependency upon no other aims and termes, as I have already evinced, then *hopes of advantage* (without extraordinary regard to *particular inclinations*, or affection) *Great personages* ought to provide so for their *dependants*, that such as serve them diligently and carefully, and signalize themselves by their serviceableness to them, may not be defeated of their *recompense*, and and what they may justly expect. And as it is the duty of such as are subordinate, and *inferiours*, not to press *too vehemently* in their own behalf, not to urge their own concernes too much with their *Superiours*, but mildly to *insinuate* the remembrance of them, or lightly to mention them upon occasion; rather *suggesting* them to their *memories*, then *importuning* their *justice*. For he understands not the *artifice* of *obsequiousness*, nor the address due to *Great men*, who treats them as a *Creditour* would his *Debtour*; who doth not *sollicite modestly*, but *boldly*

Great men ought not to be unmindfull of the interests of their dependants.

Nor they to boldly to importune their Patrons.

ly as it were *arrests* them: What ever he may have of *right* in his *demands*; the *way* of *promoting* his interests, is *injurious*. Thus *parents* are displeased, and all men authenticate their resentments, when their Children *implead* them, though justly: there is something of *indignity* in the *procedure*; The difference betwixt *parent* and *child*, and the disproportion betwixt their quality, all vanisheth when they appear under the names of *plaintiff* and *defendant*. As the *client* ought not to be troublesome to his Patron, in *recounting his merits*, or *importuning his rewards*; so it becomes not the *Patron* to *forget* his *deserts*, nor to respite his acknowledgments too long. It is ungenerous in this case, not to own the industry and faithfullness of *your creatures*; and who stayes till he be *reminded* of his *duty*, either must be reputed *insensible*, as not knowing: or *unworthy*, for slighting it; and must blame himself, if he fall into disrespect with his *Clients*, or be afterwards disserved by them These kind of men should apprehend, that they are under an obligation to promote their personall advantages; the thing is a *reall debt*, without the formality of *covenant* & *bond*; and we are engaged to see them recompenced, who lay out themselves and their lives, for our advantage. We ought not to *overvalue* our goodness, nor to imagine our

selves

ſelves to be *generous*, in all our *retributions*: to enrich or otherwiſe gratify our *affectionate creatures*, is not alwayes a *largeſs*: To be *great*, to be powerfull, doth not *entitle* us to the *abilities* of other men; nor authoriſe us to challenge all their performances as *our due*: We are redevable to them for what they have done for us, and do but in effect pay them wages for their attendance and employments under us. We ought to be as ready to *acknowledge*, as to make *uſe* of them; and to proportion our *ſentiments* and *munificence* to their zeal and *diligence*; and to imitate the earth in its products, which the more it is cultivated, tended, and looke after, the more plentifull crop doth it yield the husband man. Hereby we ſhall not onely act a part befitting us, but acquire the reputation of *gratitude* and *liberality*: wherein one may obſerve, that more is gained then an *unprofitable* and inſignificant *applauſe*: For our *creatures* are thereby more fixed to our ſervice, and more devoted to our perſons; and others are inclined to embrace all opportunities of obliging ſo *ſenſible* and *good-natured Patrons*.

Such as are dependants, ought not to be ſtraightned in their diet or ſalaries.

Great men ought alſo (howbeit many think it a matter of ſmall importance) to take ſpeciall care that their dom-

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ſtiques and inferiour friends be well provided for; that they be not ſtreightned in their *diet*, nor *poorly maintained*, ſo as to be reduced to *meane Shifts* whereby to victuall and otherwiſe accommodate themſelves, for it is *a part of the recompenſe* due to their *officiouſneſs*, and no act of *ſingular Grace*, that every one of them be maintained according to his quality. They which uſually *pinch* them in their victuals, or *totally diſcommon* them, like *ſlaves*, upon any misbehaviour, or neglect, are to be reprehended upon two grounds; both becauſe they *diſoblige*, and incurre the *hatred* and *reproaches* of thoſe *ſelf ſame perſons* by whom they affect to be *reſpected* and *commended*: and, for that they give the *world* juſt cauſe to *cenſure* them for *parſimony*, and *niggardlyneſs* towards ſuch men as are onely retained by them (there being no other reaſon imaginable, why they ſhould create themſelves that trouble and expence) and deſigned to augment their ſplendour, and poſſeſs the people with an opinion of their *generoſity* and *magnificence*. Beſides, thoſe very perſons finding their *ſmalleſt miſcariages* and *peccadillos* ſo ſeverely examined, and their *deſerts* little regarded, they contract a *diſeſteem* for their *Patron*, and his ſervice; and at length abſolutely *deſpiſe him*. Nor do they ſtudy which way they may either

ther recover his *good grace*, or preserve themselves any way therein: but by degrees estoigne themselves from him: And, to speak modestly in the case, *It is not to be presumed, that any man carrs to be beloved, or to love another, but for interests sake.* Hence it is that few or none, but such as are of the meaner sort, will *condescend* to others, and become their *followers*: No; it is *profit* which cements, and *profit* dissolves *this league*. It behoveth therefore *great men* to endeavour as much as they can to enflame their *dependants* with all *just hopes*, to endeare them unto them as much as it is possible, to the end that they may the more *cheerfully serve* them, and embrace their interests with such confidence as becomes men who know *their own good fortune* entirely to be *joyned* therewith. And this they will effect, by treating them rather *civilly*, then *imperiously*, and by expressing proportionate resentments and favours for their merits. But as the world goes now, most *great men* imitate those Lawes which are none of the most prudent, though enacted by *severall Cities*, whereby men are affrighted from *doing ill* by terrours and *penalties*: And they imagine it enough, if they make provision that no man escape *unpunished*, or, at least, obtain advancement by his crimes. I should think it much more agreeable for them to regulate

regulate themselves by those Edicts which are by *Xenophon* termed *Royall Lawes*, by which Lawes it was ordained, not onely that *offenders* should be punished, but the *vertuous* recompensed, by proposing rewards to the *valiant*, and the *good*. Let *great men* therefore study to render their *dependants* absolutely their *creatures*, and to make it their *inclination* as well as *interest*, to adhere unto them. For, *Command* is then most *pleasant*, and *obedience* least *irksome*, when it is established upon the *clients devotion*, and not *observance* onely. As for that *Empire* which is founded upon *constraint*, and the necessitous condition of *repining vassals*; I believe it to be a *qualification* God conferres upon such as he accounts worthy of that punishment whereto *Tantalus* is said to have been condemned in *Hell*, where he was continually to languish under the dreadfull apprehensions of a *second death* continuall threatening him.

Discord ought not to be sowed and fomented amongst dependants

It is a *cunning* and *subtle devise* which some men have, of sowing discord perpetually betwixt their dependants, and keeping them at variance. These men fear nothing so much as that their creatures should hold a good correspondenc

respondence one with the other and think the *worse intelligence* they have one with the other, the better they shall have with them all *themselves*. I shall onely demand of these *politicians*, and *Great* wise *men*, if their *dependants* be *wicked* and of a suspected fidelity, why do not they *discard* or correct them, rather then jealously watch over them? If they are *men of honesty* and *integrity*, why do they create themselves an *unnecessary* vexation? what great *exploits* can they do by the service of such as so little *understand one another*?

Wherefore let them learn the *Art of ruling*, and that *conduct* which is necessary to the *proper manneging of power*: This is no easy and common matter, or such as may be acquired without extraordinary attention: It comes not by *instinct*, nor is propagated by *generation*: to the obtaining thereof more is requisite then a *great fortune*, and a *sence of its necessity*: in fine, it is so transcendent a quality, that to speak the truth, it seems to be placed above the designs and contrivance of mankind, and it is rather *a peculiar gift of God*, then the acquest of *humane prudence*. But the directions leading thereunto are not to be delivered occasionally by a digression in this discourse; but

to

to be deduced from another Art, wherein whosoever is thoroughly conversant and knowing, the same will neither faile in the *sensible Choice* of his instruments and *Treasuries*; nor in his comport towards them; so as to effect, that they who *mutually* love and correspond among themselves like Brethren; may also agree to *love*, *serve*, and even adore him. Amongst the documents of that Art, it is one great and wholesome Precept, *That such as are in power ought to assure themselves of the affections of those they rule over*: hereby their *Empire* is more *secure* and *stable*, and the *voluntary* services of their *vassals* are not only more *pleasant* to them, because *unconstrained*, but infinitely more *advantagious* to their *Rulers*; whose *interests* shall not be neglected *any way*, as long as their *persons* are not *indifferent*, or *odious* to them. Whence it appears, how much they *mistake* themselves who live at continuall variance with their *families*, who not only abandon their concerns, & forget or slight their particular advantages, but depress, and oppose them, as if they were their *adversaries*: whose sense of the *unusuall care*, *fidelity* and *dispatch* of a good servant, prompts them not to *reward* or *preserve him*, but to fixe him to their adherence, by making it impossible for him otherwise to subsiste. They imagine that he would be less their

friend, if promoted above the condition of a *servant*, that if once his Fortunes grow *considerable*, he will certainly either *totally prosecute* those, or (if he be excessively generous and acknowledging) onely *intermix* their concernments with his own, and make that but a *part* of his care which is now his *whole employment*. I should think it a much more wise course, to imitate as farre as possible (for the alteration of times, Religion, and other circumstances hinder us from following the practice) the usage of the *Ancients* who made *Freed-men* of such as had faithfully served them; thus we should distinguish those who *signalize* themselves to us by their *industry* and *faithfullness* from *ordinary* and *servile Dependents*, and admit them to a nearer and more generous *friendship* or relation. Nor do I apprehend this course to be more prudentiall only, but more profitable. For, what *Farms*, or *Manner*, yeelds so great and certain an increase to a *rich* and *potent* Grandee, as an *entire friend*? what *profits* may compare with those which many *Princes* have received from their affectionate *creatures*? How vast a difference is there in our relying upon *generous* and *obliged friends*, for y supporting or carrying on of our affairs, & trusting our *Persons*, and estates, in the hands of such as have scarce the *appearance* of *friendship* to ascertain them to us, no reality at all?

For such who manage their parts and obsequiousness, as they would *money*, which they do not lend *gratis*, but put out *to use*, are presumed always to expect *interest*, and to regulate their addresses and applications solely by their *utility*, and *private gain*. Whereupon they serve *great men*, as *tenants* do their *Landlords*, who do not expend themselves and their riches to imbellish their *tenements*, or to beautifie their grounds with *pleasant Gardens*, Walks and Groves, Grots and Aqueducts, but contrive which way they may improve the Land to their advantage, and with least cost multiply their *present profits*: Thus, *they*, being retained *as it were* by wages and salary in the service of Great Men *for a time*, study not *during that interval*, how they may most benefit them, nor how they may best advance or secure their *power*, *riches*, or *dependances*; but how they may make the best of that opportunity for themselves. But, when they are removed from the *seats of gain* and particular emolument, and fixed to us by those more generall and noble ties of *affection* & *handsome friendship*, they no longer act like *self-minded Creatures*, but embrace all our concernments with *flame* zeal and integrity, as if they were their own, studying rather to aggrandise themselves by the greatness of their *Patrons*, than regarding their *owne interest*, and the profits that from

year

year to year accrue to them. Thus, having devoted themselves to our families, and as it were cordially espoused *our interest* once, they account nothing troublesome, great, or hazardous, which is beneficiall to us; having possessed our selves once of their hearts, our interests are no longer *different*; they have but *one* important concernment, and that is, *for us*.

The commendation of this exact deportment of great Persons towards their dependants.

Since it is thus; if we purpose not to resign our selves wholly up to *pride* and *ambitious arrogance*; if we will not devest our selves of all *humanity*, and relinquish that nature and reason which distinguisheth as much *man* from *man*, as from other *Beasts*; if we intend not to degenerate into *bruitishness*, and growe perfect salvages; let us foment and nourish in our selves these *friendly inclinations*; let us put on an *amicable temper* of Spirit, and make it as much *our nature* as it is possible. Let us embrace an opinion which bringeth with it all ẏ inducements that the *greatest profits* or *delights* can suggest. Man is a *Sociable* creature, & it is not only our *wisdome*, but a complyance with *humanity*, and those *uncontrived, unbiassed sentiments* which we *assume* not, but are *born* with, to prosecute those means which erect and establish an *agreeable friendship* & amity. This one circumstance is so considerable, that they who harangue upon this

subject

subject, profess *no wise man can be entirely happy in a Wilderness*: that it is not in the power of *vertue, Knowledge*, or *Grace*, to felicifie the *solitary*; and that even *Heaven*, would cease to be *Heaven*, and the *joyes* thereof be *disgusted*, were it not for the *company* there, and that *innocent agreeableness of the Saints and Angels assembled together*. Nor is there any thing more *facile*, or whereto we are more *prone*, than vehemently to *love* and affect those who *delight* us. Besides, there is a great tie and obligation put upon the Spirits of men by dayly *cohabitation and converse*, whereby they become united and leagued one with another: as we observe in *Beasts*, which being bred up or used to feed together; the *Brutishness* of their Nature hinders them not from resenting the absence, and missing their *former acquaintance*. In so much that I cannot perswade my self, but those persons do *violence to nature*, and injure *humanity* it self, who do not *sincerely love*, and communicate their good Fortunes with such whose *fidelity* and carefullness they have *experienced*, whose *manners* and *humours* they allow, and of whose *affection* they are infallibly assured.

FINIS

Errata.

THe principall *Errata*, are those two following: Pag. 6. lin. 10 instead of *a good mine*, read *a disinteressed goodnesse of nature*. p. 11. l. 13. after *that power which another must*, insert *which another must supply: it is but fitting that these men should omit those impertinences*. The others of lesser note are p. 6. l. 6. *cabnets* for *cabinets*. p. 7. l. 16. *betwen* for *betwixt*. p. 9. l. 17. *actoas* for *actions*. p. 13. l. 14. *This* for *thus*. p. 18. l. 10. *tansported* for *transported*. p. 20. l. 4. *laeves* for *leaves*. l. 12. *thost* for *those*. l. 26. *uffice* for *suffice*. p. 31. l. 9. *his* for *their*. p. 37. l. 10. *age* for *equippage*. p. 50. l. 14. *Patrochus* for *Patroclus*. p. 56. l. 25. *nevers* a for *never so*. p. 57. l. 2. *nota* for *not a*.

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